sandstone one sees in the new buildings of Naha often is from the quarries of this area. Stone quarries are scattered in various parts of Okinawa, but the Hinatogawa stone is considered the best.

Sandstone quarrying started, according to older settlers, about sixty years ago. Cutting began on the coast, gradually working up slope over rolling stony land. It is an interesting example of the transformation of a landscape by man. Now with the old methods still in use, the cutting has extended beyond the village. Stonecutting operations in the main are in the steep bluffs around both villages, although there are numerous cuttings in the newer settlements of Hinatogawa and along the seashore. Frequently the cut stone blocks lie near the temporary Hinatogawa tombs which dot the rocky coast. By the simplest methods, large quantities of stone have been and continue to be removed. All work is done by hand; machinery was installed by the Americans after the war, but it is out of working order and stands idle.

Before the war, stonecutting in this vicinity was a more thriving industry than now. Quarries are also found in neighboring Tamagusuku township and there is a distributing outlet in Horikawa, the village across the river. Before the war from 300-500 men are said to have engaged in stonecutting. Now there are about 120 in both villages. Many of these stone workers had come from other parts of Okinawa and the Ryukyus: men from the offshore islands, Ie-shima, the Kerama chain, and Iheya, and on the south east, from Kudaka, Tsuken, and Henza islands. Most of these settlers from the offshore islands have left. A few, born on Ie-shima, or from the northern district still remain.

Since the war coastwise shipping of lumber and firewood from the north and stone from the south had declined sharply. Trucks have largely displaced the boats. Transport costs are high and the stone is in demand in closer markets.

2

Acquiring and Working the Land

Customary practices govern the quarrying of stone. These eliminate the need for written agreements. Interested persons know the properties and the possibilities of each site. These customary practices are concerned with the acquisition, the working and the restoration of land. Techniques for working the stone have remained nearly the same for at least sixty years.

The stonecutter purchases rights to the stone, not the land itself. When the stone has been extracted, the land is returned to its owner. This is unimproved land, but after the stone has been quarried, a house may be built on the site. When a stonecutter (sekko) wishes to acquire a certain holding, he calls on the owner of the land. Following oral negotiations, the price is agreed upon. A good price

313 314 433 [369] [391] Home Industries and Famous Products The forested northern mountains give rise to small scale lumbering, charcoal making, and firewood gathering. Kunigami-son and Kushi-son emphasize the gathering of bamboo and firewood. On the other hand the making of charcoal is more important in Nago, Hareji, and Ōgimi. The urbanization of the south combined with the postwar extension of roads into formerly inaccessible parts of the north have accelerated exploitation of the northern forest resource. Particularly heavy is the demand for long roof poles, or kichigwā, after every major typhoon. [237] Kunigami-son and Higashi supply the bulk of these. Where wood is plentiful behind a coastal road, one often finds lime kilns, which process the coral of the reefs.

258 433 [237] The sea is also a major source of material for home industries. Sea salt is made at Yagaji, Urasoe and Oroku on the west coast, at Henza and Awase on the east. Kunigami-son prides itself upon its production of seaweed. Buttons from seashells are made in Mawashi. Fish cakes ('kamaboko') are made in quantity in Itoman and Naha, with lesser amounts being produced in Ishikawa and Nago. Dried bonito ('katsuoboshi') is a specialty of Tonaki isle to the west. Motobu-chō holds second place, followed by the western isles of Tokashiki and 505 Zamami. 178 For over a hundred years the small cargo sailboats ('Yambaru-sen') of the east coast have carried forest products from the north. The extension of roads into the northern forests has greatly reduced the amount now carried by sea.

433 [232] [233] [231] Horse breeding is a specialty in Nakazato (the eastern half of Kumeshima), which has 22% of the gunto's production of horses. However, the production of horse and cattle hides is concentrated in the urban areas, which account for 84% of the hides produced. Nakazato is also famous for production of silk cocoons, being responsible for about two-fifths (38.7%) of the gunto's total. The leading mainland producer is Motobu-chō, with 9%.

[245] [479] [274] [284] Although Okinawa is not self-sufficient in tea, the three areas of Gushikawa, Ishikawa and Kunigami produce over half of the local tea. In Oku village of Kunigami, the tea factory is a cooperative venture. Gushikawa and Chatan pride themselves upon possessing 'sake' and 'awamori' distilleries. Mawashi is the center of production of farm tools, and accounts for some weaving of banana cloth. Weaving of mats from the "seven isles reed" ('shichitō-i') is a local specialty of Kanegusuku.

[314] Travertine quarries are found in Motobu-chō and Katsuren. A sandy limestone is quarried at Minatogawa in Gushichan.

This island has long faced a serious problem of over-population and food shortage; it is not self-supporting in foodstuffs and mainly derives its livelihood from fishing, shipping and ferrying. It has long had a symbiotic relationship with the neighboring island of Takabanare, supplying fish and shipping-ferrying service in return for food, but this has not been rewarding enough in recent years to offset its rapid population increase. A general postwar decline in coastal shipping largely due to the marked improvement of land transportation in highways and vehicles has sharply reduced the number of jobs in this enterprise, and the return of the repatriates has only added to the number seeking jobs. Military employment, however, has filled this gap and staved off mass unemployment.

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At the present time nearly one quarter of the village labor force is engaged in military employment. Nearly all of the repatriates and a large number of old residents have entered military employ. Some of these have established temporary residence on the mainland nearer the military installations. A large number, however, commute by ferry boat and bus each day to their place of employment, and at low tide it is possible to walk the mile across the tidal flats to the mainland.

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There has long been a tradition for the men of Henza to be away from the village much of time, engaged in activities on the sea. Thus, those who are away much of the time in military employment are merely following a long-established pattern. Unlike the absent workers of Kanegusuku, these people are not considered to be cut off from village affairs. All farming activities, much of the family's economic affairs, and some of the functions of government are carried on by women, contrary to usual Okinawan practice.

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The villagers regard military employment as a blessing and feel that it has contributed significantly to maintaining village prosperity. Aside from military employment they have little contact with Americans, although a few boat-owners have rented their crafts to American fishing parties. The villagers and their officials recall with considerable fondness their military government officer in the early days of the occupation. To date Henza relations with Americans have been not only good but also profitable; in short, American stock is high on this island.

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Summary On Henza and to a far smaller degree in Kanegusuku military employment has largely drawn off the surplus and largely landless population that formerly would have emigrated to other parts of the overseas Japanese empire. In Jagaru and Tobaru military employment has replaced farming as the chief occupation of the villagers. The contribution of military employment to the economy of Kanegusuku is negligible, although it should be noted that the number so engaged increased during the period of the author's study. In Jagaru, Tobaru, and Henza military employment is of vital importance to the village economy, and any sharp decrease will have severe repercussions.

464

Okinawan Attitudes Toward Those Engaged in Military Employment Okinawans make a sharp distinction in their attitudes toward men employed in military jobs and their attitudes toward women similarly employed. There seems to be no stigma of any sort attached to the male who has a job working for the Americans; in fact,

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